DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 160 686 UD 018 601

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TITLE Redevelopment of Disadvantaged Youth: Some Comparative Experiences.
PUB DATE 14 Sep 78
NOTE 44p.; For a related document, see UD 018 600; Paper prepared for presentation at the Youth Aliyah and Hadassah Seminar on Residential Education and Disadvantaged Youth (Jerusalem, Israel, September 14, 1978)

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.83 HC-$2.06 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Comparative Education; *Compensatory Education; Cultural Factors; Early Childhood Education; Economically Disadvantaged; Educational Innovation; *Educationally Disadvantaged; Educational Programs; *Educational Strategies; Elementary Secondary Education; Immigrants; Minority Groups; Rural Urban Differences; Social Discrimination; Socioeconomic Influences

ABSTRACT

This paper presents a survey of research, development and programatic efforts concerned with education for the disadvantaged throughout the world. The primary focus of this report is on the patterns and trends reflected in these efforts, one of which is the considerable attention paid by numerous countries to such concerns as early childhood and preschool education, language and basic skills development, curriculum modification, remedial activity, involvement of family, community development, and vocational training and career development. Approaches taken by different countries are described in detail. Related racial and ethnic discrimination is discussed in terms of program efforts that focus on development of multicultural or culturally pluralistic experiences. In addition, social, economic, cultural, and educational problems which contribute to individuals and groups being disadvantaged are compared and contrasted as they are manifested in various countries. (Author/EB)

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# REDEVELOPMENT OF DISADVANTAGED YOUTH:

# SOME COMPARATIVE EXPERIENCES

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Prepared for Presentation at a Plenary Session at the
Youth Aliyah and Hadassah Seminar on "Residential
Education and Disadvantaged Youth" in
Jerusalem, Israel, 14 September 1978

UD018601

# REDEVELOPMENT OF DISADVANTAGED YOUTH: SOME COMPARATIVE EXPERIENCES

A. Harry Passow

For a topic which is of significant concern to a variety of nations around the world, locating information concerning comparative experiences in the redevelopment of disadvantaged youth is a surprisingly difficult task. An ERIC computer search, using a broad variety of descriptive indicators, produced only 97 items, most of which proved to be inappropriate or only tangentially connected. The search did confirm that persons considered disadvantaged differ in various settings and yet have certain similarities. Consider, for example, the disadvantaged in the following ERIC items:

-- An English reading program for non-English-speaking Canadian immigrant children. (EJ159684)

-- Language development of Gypsie children and problems they encounter as a minority group in England. (EJ151289)

-- Language training of the primary teacher working with migrant children in Australia. (EJ132697)

-- Effect of preschool education on the school readiness of under-privileged children of Delhi, India. (EJ148690)

-- Language needs of minority group children: learners of English as a second language. (ED144370)

-- Linguistic aspects of Emigrant children (e.g., Finnish students in Swedish schools and French-speaking students in Canadian English-language schools. (ED144340)

-- Bilingual-bicultural curriculum for migrant kindergarten children in Connecticut. (ED139295)

-- Cross-cultural education for migrant children in the Netherlands. (ED132103)

-- Second-language learning of immigrant children representing 36 nationalities in Swedish comprehensive schools. (ED129100)

-- English proficiency of a second generation group of minority children in a multi-racial junior school in England. (ED128539)

-- Workshop papers and discussion group reports of a Council of Europe meeting concerned with compensatory education for the socioculturally disadvantaged at the preschool and primary levels-- 11 participant nations. (ED121419)

-- Council of Europe conference on the education of migrants. (ED11020)

Letters to individuals in fifteen countries requesting information concerning that nation's "experience" with redevelopment of the disadvantaged brought only a sparse response, possibly due to the time pressure. Thus, this paper draws on available sources but cannot be viewed as a thorough survey of policies and programs for education of the disadvantaged but only a report on "some comparative experiences."

## A World-Wide Concern for the Disadvantaged

The Unesco Institute for Education in Hamburg convened a meeting of representatives from six nations to explore the concepts of deprivation and disadvantaged. The report of that meeting pointed out:

> In most countries in the world, there has been a dramatic and spectacular growth in educational provisions-- growth in terms of years of schooling available, facilities and resources provided, and the populations to whom these services and facilities are available. Yet educational opportunities and provisions have been and still are unequal. For a variety of reasons, many children are unable to profit fully from provisions which are available, many schools are unable to deliver appropriate educational programs, and many pupils are excluded from some aspects of the system. (Passow, 1970, p. 15)

The participants concurred that for the industrialized, urbanized, developed nations, the basic problem tends to be one of providing equality of educational opportunity so that individual potential is more fully nurtured and utilized. For the less industrialized or developing nations, the problem was two-fold: "one of providing the schools, teachers, services and resources to enable more children to be more fully educated and second, analagous to that of the more developed countries, of providing the kinds of education which will nurture individual potential more fully." (ibid.) For some developing nations, using the criteria of more developed nations, the bulk of the school population might be considered "disadvantaged."

The conferees also accepted two operational definitions which proved useful in guiding the discussions and analyses:

> Disadvantaged-- A child is at a disadvantage if, because of social, or cultural characteristics (e.g., social class, race, ethnic origin, poverty, sex, geographical location, etc.) he comes into the school system with knowledge, skills and attitudes which impede learning and contribute to a cumulative academic deficit. The disadvantage may persist throughout school life and contribute to restricting later economic and social opportunities.
>
> Deprived-- A child is deprived if, for social, political, or cultural reasons, the "normal" facilities of the school system are available to him only in a restricted form. (ibid., p. 16)

The lexicon of deprivation and disadvantage has just developed since the 1960's or so but the basic concerns have existed and been studied in various ways in many nations for some time. What has emerged is a more systematic focus on expanding educational opportunities as a means of overcoming social and economic inequalities and with that focus an increase in policy analysis, research, and development.

At the Unesco Institute for Education (Hamburg) week-long

meeting, research and programs from six countries were reported and reviewed. Wiseman and Goldman reviewed developments in England and Wales in terms of social class and educational opportunity and the special problems encountered by non-white immigrants, particularly West Indians, Hindi and Pakistani. Goldschmidt and Sommerkorn analyzed problems of disadvantage encountered in some of the West German states by working class children, girls, Catholic children, and rural children. They described some of the steps taken to reform the educational system, including preschool education, all-day schools, special guidance, comprehensive schools and alternative paths to school-leaving certificates. Kellaghan identified three groups of disadvantaged children in Ireland--children from low-income families, those who drop out of post-primary education, and children of migrants and itinerants. Moshe and Sara Smilansky described successive waves of immigration with diverse patterns of behavior and scales of values who have constituted the "disadvantaged" in Israel since the states founding in 1948. Nisbet observed that social handicap seemed to be less of a problem in Scotland except as it influenced early school leaving and continuing on to higher education. He pointed out that there are desperately poor families, especially in the more urban areas, and efforts were being made to improve their conditions by dealing with housing, health, and employment as part of a comprehensive attack on their problems. Passow and Havighurst described the U.S.A. scene. (Passow, 1970)

The meeting pointed up an awareness and concern in the six nations represented for disadvantaged and deprived students in its schools, individuals who were most often found among groups

such as: (1) the poor and lower socioeconomic classes, (2) racial and ethnic minorities, (3) minority-language groups or those whose language is inappropriate to the process of industrialization, (4) rural and isolated populations, (5) migrant and nomadic groups, (6) immigrant groups, (7) religious minorities, and (8) females. (ibid., pp. 21-22)

In 1968, the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) through its Center for Educational Research and Innovation (CERI) undertook a program of action research designed to meet the special needs of disadvantaged groups. The areas of action included experimental work in preschool programs, primary school enrichment, secondary school enrichment, second chance facilities, the isolated school and the urban immigrant. An analysis of American experience and research in compensatory education was undertaken to provide guidance to member countries with respect to policies, research and experimentation. (Little and Smith, 1971) CERI's aim was "to examine the general strategies now available or feasible in the future, for maximising the performance of educational systems in terms of equality of opportunity....[and] in due course, to submit a report on alternative strategies and programmes which might be pursued by OECD Member countries." (OECD-CERI, 1969)

CERI's Strategy Group has reported on The Netherlands' Project Compensation Programme which consists of three strategies carried out in five variations: (1) a Family Influencing Programme which aims at increasing parental independence in cultural and pedagogical areas, (2) a Language and Thought Programme which focuses on spoken language as a means for facilitating growth in reading and arithmetic, (3) a School Readiness Programme which aims at reducing beginning reading difficulties

through step-by-step methods, (4) a combination of 1 and 2, and (5) a combination 1 and 3. The Strategy Group also reported on a Pre-School Project which involved 14 classes of 15 children each, preparing them for entrance in elementary school. Another Scandinavian project involved an analysis of nursery school programs as the basis for developing "pre-school education for socially disadvantaged children" in Sweden. In Ireland, a pre-primary center was established in Dublin "to discover what contributions the school working in its own environment and in the community from which its pupils are drawn, can make towards overcoming the disadvantages from which children suffer." (OECD-CERI, 1969)

The OECD-CERI group has been concerned with examining four alternative educational strategies in its member nations, including pre-school training, compensatory primary education, comprehensive secondary education, and recurrent education. The latter strategy involves alternating periods of education and periods of work to facilitate the interaction between occupational and educational experiences. Recurrent education was seen as gradually replacing "the present post-compulsory levels of education as well as part of the existing adult education schemes." ( OECD-CERI, 1971, p. 47)

In its deliberations, the OECD-CERI group has considered the limits of education and schooling in equalizing an individual's life chances, arguing that education must be viewed realistically in its socioeconomic context. Equality of access to the same educational programs and institutions by various social, racial, and ethnic groups traditionally has been considered as providing equality of educational opportunity; the group suggests that equality must be considered more broadly in terms of

educational inputs, outputs, and processes and the possible differentials which could lead to greater equality.

The widespread interest in early childhood education for disadvantaged children could be seen from a publication in 1971 by the Bernard Van Leer Foundation titled Compensatory Early Childhood Education: A Selective Working Bibliography. (Van Leer Foundation, 1971) Although the bulk of research and related literature was American in origin, other titles in the bibliography indicated early childhood was perceived in many countries as a point of providing compensatory education.

In Ireland, for example, a committee on educational retardation was established by the Minister of Education in 1967 and recommended special arrangements for schools in culturally disadvantaged areas as well as a number of proposals for special intervention. In 1968, the Van Leer Foundation provided funding for an experimental program for children in a Dublin disadvantaged area which had had a history of high educational failure. Two notions were borne in mind in planning the project: (1) "in view of the marked relationship between measured intelligence at the pre-school stage and at maturity, early intervention was desirable" and (2) "since the child's home was the main formative influence in the early years, the active involvement of parents in the educational process should be sought." (Kellaghan, 1977, p. 7).

A pre-school was established for children ages three to five with the primary aim of helping their development of cogitive skills and preparing them for the work of the primary school. After completing two years in the pre-school, children could transfer to an adjacent junior primary school for an additional three years. Serious attempts were

made to develop curriculum appropriate to these children's needs with prime focus on cognitive-scholastic objectives. The major foci of the instructional program

> were the development of skills of perceptual discrimination, the extension of the child's knowledge of the world, particularly of his immediate environment, the development of skills in the organization of knowledge and the development of language skills. Personality, social and motivational development also received attention, though less than cognitive development, in curriculum formulations. (ibid., p. 115)

The intellectual development of the 90 children involved was monitored over a five year period. Mean IQ scores increased about 6.5 points on the Stanford-Binet during the two years of pre-schooling but declined during the three years of junior schooling to the point where they had started. A comparison of performance on the Preschool Inventory indicated improvement in their achievement in areas generally regarded as necessary for school success, especially in the ability of the children to respond to verbal communication, in their vocabulary, and in numerical concept knowledge. Girls did better than boys in reading attainment. Parental attitudes toward the program and their perceptions of the effects of the program indicated generally positive views, including reports of the program having effected their parenting styles. Kellaghan concluded that since

> poverties have their origins in both situational and cultural characteristics of those minorities which suffer disadvantage and discrimination, remedies will have to be sought in the broad contexts of both economic and cultural (including educational) reform. This may involve not just the local community level but the total structure of society. (ibid., p. 127)

A number of Western European and Scandinavian nations have sizeable populations of immigrant workers, many of whom bring their families

with them. Sweden and the Federal Republic of German, for example, have thousands of "Turkish, Greek, Yugoslavian, Italian, and Spanish students who have neither the cultural background nor the educational preparation that would allow them to participate in any but the most basic learning." (Rist, 1978, p. 7) A fundamental principle in Sweden's immigrant policy as expressed in one of its official National Board of Education documents is "that immigrants must to the greatest extent possible have the same rights and obligations as other inhabitants" with respect to housing, social benefits, and education. (National Swedish Board of Education, 1975, p. 5)

The Swedish National Board of Education reminds educators of "the difficulties encountered by children from other countries in Swedish schools" and mandates that the "school must be ready to provide tuition that is specially adapted in terms of both content and methods." Instruction for children of immigrants may include "various kinds of auxiliary teaching to make it easier for children to adjust to Swedish school life and also voluntary teaching of the pupils' native languages and of the cultural conditions of their native countries with a view to enabling them to retain their native languages and their cultural identities." (ibid., p. 6) The Curriculum for the Comprehensive School Lgr 69 includes a supplement titled, The Teaching of Immigrant Children and Others. The supplement contains detailed material concerning the regulations and instructions governing "auxiliary teaching" for children of immigrants, regulations concerning native language (mother/home language) teaching, teachers, study and vocational orientation for immigrants, and special measures of pupil welfare. Methodological instructions concerning the teaching of

Swedish, directions for the organization and content of auxiliary teaching, and instructions concerning methods for home language lessons for immigrant pupils are provided. What the impact has been on the children of immigrant workers in Sweden is being studied although any findings seem not to be available in English as yet.

An interesting study has just been begun by Freudenthal, Narrowe, and Sachs in a suburb of Stockholm. Titled, "Turks in a Swedish Suburb: An Immigrant Group Encounters Three Swedish Institutions," the study aims at describing and analyzing certain aspects of the encounter between immigrants from the district of Kulu in Central Turkey and the Swedish preschool system, the school system, and the health care system. As pointed out in the proposal:

> Most previous research dealing with the situation of immigrant children in these institutions has focused on language developments and bilingualism. This research has stressed the importance of retaining fluency in the children's home language in their overall development. To this end, a home language program conducted by qualified personnel from the children's home country has been implemented: all immigrant children are provided an opportunity to maintain and extend their knowledge of their home language. (Freudenthal, Narrowe, and Sachs, n.d., p. 1)

Freudenthal et al. note that little research has been done regarding the social and cultural effects of the home language program and are seeking answers to such questions as:

> what are the children taught about Swedish norms and values in the context of the day-care centers and kindergardens and how are these communicated to the children. Further, what are some of the features of the Turkish socialization process and how is Turkish culture transmitted? Finally, how are these different cultural systems dealt with in the Swedish preschool? (ibid.)

The second part of the study focuses on Kulu-Turkish pre-adolescents and adolescents and their relationship with the Swedish comprehensive school, looking especially at "how the school in the form of teachers, administrators and Swedish students communicate Swedish values to this group of students and how those values are understood by them." (ibid., p. 2)

The third part of the study examines the degree to which the Kulu-Turkish immigrants, usually unfamiliar with the health care and services of Sweden, retain their traditional methods and attitudes in the Swedish environment. Specifically, the study seeks answers to questions such as: "How does the concept of sickness change when a group changes cultural environment? To what degree do Turkish women hold on to their traditional ideas about normal and abnormal health conditions when these ideas are defined differently by Swedish medical and para-medical personnel?" (ibid., pp. 2-3 )

On the other hand, Rist's study of the children of guest-workers in West Germany caused him to observe:

> German education is confronted with the reality that if organizational and pedagogical practices are allowed to continue as they are presently constituted, they will ensure that the children of the guestworkers for several generations to come will be relegated to the underclass position now occupied by their parents. And if this does occur, the systematic and institutional discrimination against these groups will emerge in a way comparable to the condition of minority groups in England and the United States. It will no longer be a matter of immigrants coming into

> the host society on the lower rungs of the socioeconomic ladder, but the deliberate perpetuation from generation to generation of a prejudicial and discriminator social system. (Rist, 1978, p. 7)

Rist argues that German society is unwilling at present to acknowledge that it has become a pluralistic society with many of its guestworkers "hyphenated Germans." In Rist's view, current West German policies aimed at educating both in German and in a child's mother tongue are failing:

> The notion that a child can be prepared to cope with two different educational, cultural, linguistic, and ethnic social systems at the same time and in total isolation, one from the other, strains beyond the breaking point any educational credibility the approach may have. To reject a bilingual/bicultural approach for the sake of two mutually isolated and noncomplementary educational orientations can have but one logical outcome for the child: educational failure in both areas. (ibid., p. 8)

In 1976, guestworker children from the five countries of Yugoslavia, Turkey, Greece, Italy and Spain represented 3.9 percent of all students in the comprehensive elementary grades but only .046 percent in the selective German gymnasium. The prime barrier faced by guestworker

children is language. Preparatory classes in the German language are both overcrowded and of short duration with the problem compounded by children from several different nationalities and mother tongues, of different ages and levels of performance and German language skill all mixed together. Rist concludes that the difficulties faced by immigrant children constitute overwhelming evidence "that inequality of educational opportunity is the norm in German education" with the schools functioning "in such a way as to systematically deny tangible educational benefits to many German children and to foreign children alike." (ibid., 9)

Some "Down-Under" Experiences: New Zealand and Australia

New Zealand makes compensatory arrangements for pupils with special needs, most of whom belong to minority ethnic groups such as Maori children or the children of Polynesian immigrants who have come from such countries as Western Samoa, the Cook Islands, Niue and the Tokelau Islands. Although there had been mission schools since 1816, in 1867 the Government first accepted responsibility for educating Maoris. The Native Schools Act was passed to provide educational opportunities for Maori children, most of whom lived in remote rural districts. Although such schools were never exclusively for the Maoris and Maori children were not prohibited from enrolling in schools set up primarily for Pakeha (European) children, the native schools became primarily for Maoris.

In 1955, a government committee was convened to discuss the education of Maori children. The Committee affirmed that while the basic educational needs of Maori and European children were identical, "Maori children, especially where associated with Pakeha children, had a

special need for security and a sense of identity and personal worth." (Smith, 1977, p. 2) The Committee urged that extra assistance be available to such children and that an understanding of the Maori culture become a requirement not only for the Maoris but the European children as well in order that both "might more fully appreciate the history, achievements, and the character of the Maori." (ibid.) The Committee sought the appointment of a senior professional officer-- the Officer for Maori Education-- and sought "the appointment of Maoris to the staffs of teachers colleges; the strengthening of the teaching of Maori history, legend, songs and art and crafts in all schools through publications and inservice training and the greater involvement of Maori adults in local educational administration." (ibid.)

Between 1955 and 1970, the number of Maori pupils in primary schools doubled and the number in secondary schools trebled. The report of the Currie Commission on Education in 1962 provided the basis for many developments in the ensuing years. The Commission argued that education would play a major role in determining the future of the Maori people and of race relations in New Zealand. On its recommendation, control of Maori schools was transferred to the Board in 1968 enabling provision of special assistance to all Maori pupils, not just those at Maori schools. At the same time, the Department of Maori and Island Affairs introduced measures aimed at improving housing, vocational training, and employment opportunities.

The Maori Education Foundation, established in 1961, promotes and encourages the better education of Maoris and provides financial assistance to several thousands of students of ability who would otherwise have been unable to make the best use of educational facilities. Much of

the improvement in the attainment of Maori school leavers in the past decade or so has probably been due to the financial help provided them by the Foundation. This is especially so for those at postsecondary institutions. The Foundation has been particularly active in pre-school education as well. From just a few hundred Maoris in pre-school centers in the 1950's, some 6,512 (over one-third) Maori children in the three- to five-year old group were having some kind of organized pre-school education by 1975.

A report titled "Maori Education" was issued in 1971 and argued "that to achieve the goal of equal opportunity it is often necessary to take measures that are vastly unequal." (ibid., p. 5) Specific recommendations were made concerning pre-school education, the curriculum, staffing and equipment of schools, pre-vocational and vocational training, teacher training and adult education.

When the native schools were transferred to the Board, English became the dominant language, accompanied by a strong and growing demand for Maori to be taught more extensively in schools. In fact, except for ceremonial occasions, the Maori language had fallen out of use in many Maori communities. The education system had contributed to this loss through an earlier policy of suppressing the language among Maori pupils in order to foster the development of English. In 1974, Maori language was introduced as part of the integrated studies of primary schools and in 1976, 30 itinerant teachers of Maori were appointed to aid this development. Consequently, more than 46,000 primary pupils now have programs of Maori language and studies. A pilot bilingual program has been set up in a

largely Maori speaking rural area and a National Advisory Committee on Bilingual Education has been established to advise the Department of Education in this area.

Other activities on behalf of Maori and Island students include the following: special staffing provisions in schools where there are significant numbers of Maori and Polynesian pupils; revised curriculum guides and resources, particularly aimed at including Maori life and culture studies; pre-service and in-service training of teachers to provide them with a better understanding of Maori cultural background and with more appropriate teaching skills and strategies; and special pre-vocational and vocational training programs.

A Maori Pre-Apprentice Training Program is one form of special assistance provided Maori youth from rural districts. In rural areas where industries are few, opportunities for training and employment are few as well. Some 30 Maori trade training courses were in operation in 1978. It is now proposed to extend the scheme to non-Maori rural youth as well. In 1977, the government approved the establishment of three pilot urban trade training schemes for unemployed youth regardless of ethnic origin. After these have been evaluated, they may be extended to other urban centers as well.

An independent, non-parliamentary Australian Commission of Inquiry into Poverty (1976) was appointed in 1972 and broadened in 1975. Its mandate was to report on the educational, economic, legal and medical aspects of poverty. The Commission's report observed that poverty is a relative concept based on determining a minimum acceptable standard of

living, that it involves not only economic but also social and political exclusion, and that it cannot be separated from those inequalities entrenched in the general structure. The subcommittee on education investigated the nature and extent of educational and cultural disadvantage among the poor and the ways in which it leads to poverty in successive generations. They also examined the adequacy of existing educational and cultural services in meeting the needs of the poor and to determine how such services might be improved to overcome educational and cultural disadvantage.

Believing "that all people should have an equal right to education, to choice, to an adequate income, and to a career," the subcommittee saw life chances increasingly determined by formal education, a prerequisite for entry to most occupations and a determinant of social stratification. In Australia, there were identifiable groups which tend to receive less formal education than the norm. These include rural dwellers, Southern European migrants, Aborigines, and the children of lower socio-economic groups. Workforce inequalities, however, do not stem from educational inequality alone so that reducing educational inequality will in and of itself not eliminate inequality in occupational opportunities.

The report urged that appropriate support systems and staffing be concentrated in disadvantaged schools to provide help and counselling for these children and their families, that youth workers should provide continuing assistance, that more flexible school organization including part-time schooling be arranged, and that a means-tested allowance be initiated at the beginning of secondary school. The report

noted that the problems of migrants are often compounded by language difficulties, lack of cultural fit with the school, and societal disregard of their cultural distinctiveness. The committee urged that schools in areas of high migrant density should be provided with bilingial teachers, should study migrant languages and culture, and should involve parents in the curriculum.

The commission observed that rising levels of education resulted in employers using educational prerequisites in hiring and promoting staff which often were irrelevant, discriminating against the poor who tended to leave school early. The report called for determining whether the required qualifications were really appropriate to specific jobs and whether flexible selection criteria might be developed. It proposed that school leavers be enabled to combine work with continuing study or resume full or part-time schooling at no personal cost. The Commission proposed on-the-job counseling be provided for highly mobile low-skill workers as well as special training for an established career path: increased access to on-the-job training must be combined with chances to progress through an ordered sequence of increasing responsibility and rewards.

Finally, the Commission noted that Aborigines have the lowest school retention rate and occupational status and were more vulnerable to unemployment than any other group. In the Commission's view, their low attainment was "due to extrinsic factors such as poor health, housing and facilities, and to intrinsic factors such as white stereotypes, low self-esteem, language difficulties and culture conflict."

In 1970, the Australian government introduced the Aboriginal Secondary Grants Scheme to assist financially those Torres Strait Islander

and Aboriginal students who remained in school beyond the compulsory age. In 1973, this was modified and all Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students who attended secondary school were included in the hope that such grants would encourage these students to remain at school longer and possibly complete secondary education. The effects of the program were studied in terms of the extent to which students were encouraged to stay on longer in secondary school. (Watts, 1976) Some success has been realized:

> While the proportion of students beyond age fifteen who remain at school is still markedly lower for Aboriginals and Islanders than for other Australian adolescents, a small but increasing number is now reaching the senior secondary grades. Attendance at all levels is satisfactory and the students display positive attitudes to school, healthy self-concepts, and high aspirations. Even where academic gains are limited, social and personal gains are evident.

In general, Aboriginal and Islander students' access to education has been increased by the grants. The report concluded that "the secondary schools are centrally implicated in the history of educational failure of Aboriginal and Islander students" and urged attention to staffing, organization, curricula and liaison with homes. One aspect of the efforts of the government, in addition to the grants, has been a tutorial program. The effectiveness of the tutorial program has been limited by the fact that few tutors have had training in remedial education and by the lack of appropriate materials. The report urged that a kit be developed for use in tutorial work with adolescent retarded readers. Watts concluded that the grants scheme had "set the scene for a changed participation by Aboriginal and Islander youth in the educative process and this needs to be matched by the school systems in the

development of programs meaningful and appropriate to Aboriginal and Islander youth."

Australia has also developed pre-school (ages 3-5 years) programs for disadvantaged children in its metropolitan areas. A large-scale experimental program for the Sydney area involved land and buildings from the New South Wales Education Department, funds for research and development from the Van Leer Foundation, support for social workers and family assistance from a local charity group, and overall direction from Macquarie University's School of Education. Like many other countries, Australia has seen pre-school programs as one approach to providing for disadvantaged.

As with other countries, Australia has also been very much concerned with unemployment of youth and the transition from school to work. In 1976, the OECD Education Committee reviewed Australian programs and policies focusing on the transition from school to work or further study and the particular problems that arise with those leaving school at the minimum age-- many of whom are considered disadvantaged. Among the measures proposed was that direct subsidies be provided employers to provide work containing a training element for young people. The OECD Committee urged that state and federal authorities accept more responsibility for helping early school leavers achieve successfully the transition to adulthood.

The Australian Schools Commission created a Disadvantaged Schools Program through which funds were disbursed based on a composite index derived from measures of various socio-economic characteristics of

the areas from which pupils are drawn. The Commission's approach was not unlike that of the United Kingdom's Plowden Committee's "Educational Priority Areas" which will be discussed later. The catchment area of each school was defined in terms of so-called collector's district's -- districts which contain 800 persons or less and are believed to be relatively homogeneous on the basis of socio-economic characteristics-- and 38 variables were calculated which covered attributes such as occupations, housing, schooling, employment, migration, residential mobility, religion, family structure, and ethnic origin. However, an analysis was carried out to see if the 38 variables could be reduced or replaced by a smaller number of hypothetical constructs or components which might account for the differences between schools. The result was a "Socio-Economic Scale." (Goldman and Rowley, n.d. pp. 5-8)

The Australian Schools Commission specifically rejected as an aim of its Disadvantaged Schools Programme the notion that the goal "of compensatory education [is] to achieve equality of opportunity in the sense of equality of outcomes (equal <u>average</u> educational attainment in each social group)," arguing that "it was beyond the capacity of schools alone to compensate entirely for the differences in background of their pupils (and this would seem particularly so when the differences in background include differences in education values)." (ibid., p. 9) The Commission's program for disadvantaged schools has a purpose very much like the scheme for designating certain areas as "educational priority areas" in England and Wales and the federally-assisted compensatory programs in the U.S.A. Specifically, the report points out:

> the disadvantages which compensatory programs seek to redress are the product of social arrangements and are common to identifiable

> groups. It has also been argued that if the basic problem is one of poverty, it would be better attacked directly through income redistribution rather than through educational policies. Although more equal chances for educational success might indeed require a scheme of social action of which changes in the school would be only a part, children presently in schools may well have passed through them before this action is undertaken. The school provides a practical point of attack on the cycle of poverty, for it is a social institution more amenable to change than is the family, and an institution where deliberate social intervention is acceptable. (Schools in Australia, 1973, p. 94.

A study by Goldman and Rowley to assess the validity of the Commission's index found that in both primary and secondary schools, "there are clear and systematic differences in reading and mathematics achievement, and these differences are clearly related to the schools' scores on the Schools Commission Index." (Goldman and Rowley, n.d., p. 72) In both primary and secondary schools, those schools at the lowest quintile on reading and mathematics achievement, 60 percent have migrant parents. In the higher-ranked schools, migrants are more likely to be British while those in the lower-ranked schools are more likely to be Southern European. Close to half of the children in the lower-ranked schools speak little or no English at home (compared to less than 10% in the highest-ranked schools) and language difficulties could be an important factor in producing educational disadvantage. (ibid., p. 73) Goldman and Rowley conclude as follows:

> It may not be reasonable to expect the schools to iron out all of the inequalities which exist in an obviously unequal society. A satisfactory outcome in Australia might be a situation in which students attending schools in disadvantaged areas were provided with educational facilities of at least the same quality as those in more affluent areas, and that, where it can be shown that they have special needs (e.g., due to language difficulties) that extra provision be made. The achievement of this level of equality would be a considerable advance on that to which many Australians have been accustomed. (ibid., p. 75)

In the last three years, the Australian government has issued reports dealing with migrants and with Australia as a "multicultural society." In 1976, the Australian Ethnic Affairs Council issued a paper titled, Teaching of Migrant Languages in Schools and, in 1977, it published Australia as a Multicultural Society. The Australian Population and Immigration Council published Immigration Policies and Australia's Population (1977). Three years ago, the Australian Schools Commission issued a report titled, Migrant and Multicultural and Special Education (1975). Goldman has traced Australia's concern for children of immigrants through three periods or phases:

1. The first period, 1947-1965, was one of attempted assimilation in education when migrants were not to be given any unique privileges or considerations of any kind. A South Australian report in 1956 stated that national groupings should be discouraged, if not destroyed, and did recommend some special English classes. (By 1963, only four classes had been started; by 1964, only one remained; then all disappeared.) In Goldman's view, educational bureaucracies could not and would not alter their structures to cope and were to busy coping with shortages of teachers, school places, and funds to deal with what was perceived as a frill. In addition, the dominant immigrant groups were British and Northern and Eastern European from relatively high socio-economic groupings and a reasonable level of literacy and education-- "assimilationist material par excellence."

2. The second period, 1965-1975, was one of reluctant problem recognition and random remedies. There was a sharp decline in migrants from Northern and Eastern Europe (75,000 to 25,000 between 1961-71) accompanied by a sharp increase in migrants from Southern European and some Middle Eastern countries. The problems were perceived as ones of language, socio-economic level, and rural, rather than urban, background. In Victoria, a co-ordinator and advisor in migrant education was appointed in 1967. From 1970 on, the Commonwealth paid for training courses in migrant education, for salaries of teachers engaged in special work with migrants, and for the development of teaching materials for migrants. Funding for migrant education mushroomed from $ 1.8 million in 1970 to $ 13.1 million in 1975. In Goldman's view, the Commonwealth

Migrant Education program represented "a very good and generous gesture by comparison with the previous record, but compared with the demonstrable needs of children, that is all it was-- a generous gesture."

3. The third period, from 1975 onwards, is a period of reappraisal and broader educational perspectives. The report, Australia as a Multicultural Society contains a number of specific policy proposals:

   a. Intensive English language centres for newly arrived students and students in school who can attend in vacations or who can be withdrawn from school during normal school days.

   b. Review of Teaching of English as a Second Language theories and methods in order to re-integrate students and teachers into the school system and provide more effective English teaching.

   c. Schools to be given incentives to develop bilingual education for students entering school fluent only in a language other than English.

   d. Schools to be given incentives to develop community languages for children of non-English speaking origin who wish to become or remain fluent in their mother tongue and English-speaking children who wish to learn a community language.

   e. Schools to be given incentives to develop ethnic studies programs both for ethnic groups and for Anglo-Australian children with interdependence of the two processes.

   f. Ethnic schools to be given incentives to operate at a standard so they can contribute to multicultural education.

   g. Institutions responsible for teacher training and in-service education be given incentives to recruit teacher of non-English speaking background and to train all teachers to work in a multicultural and multlingual education system.

   h. Materials development by the main national materials producing bodies be brought into line with above purposes and aims. (Goldman, n.d.)

Goldman concluded his analysis asserting that "the overwhelming challenge of our ethnic friends and their children in our schools is to cause us to re-appraise our inadequate and mediocre State School System for the benefit of all our citizens and their children. (ibid., p. 25)

## Compensatory Education in the United Kingdom

In an earlier review (Passow, 1971) England and Israel were singled out as two countries whose research and program development efforts for disadvantaged populations seemed to parallel those of the United States most closely. In England, there are two somewhat separate but clearly related lines of development with respect to the disadvantaged. On the one hand, the differentials in educational attainment between working and lower-class children and others had become a matter of serious concern in post-war England. Studies of class differences had become part of the educational and political scene by the 1950's and the focus of controversy in local and national elections. A series of reports from 1959 to 1967 provided fresh data and focused attention on the need for educational reform, especially as it affected lower-class children. On the other hand, a relatively large-scale influx of immigrant children (mainly from Hindi, Pakistani, West Indian and Cypriot families) taxed schools in their efforts to provide adequately for children who were culturally and linguistically different.

In the 1960's immigration into the United Kingdom had become the focus of considerable debate which reached a climax in early 1968 with a hastily conceived "panic" measure designed specifically to restrict immigration of Asians from Kenya and otherwise limit the inflow of non-white British Commonwealth citizens. Following the restrictive legislation, a Race Relations Bill was passed, strengthening somewhat a weak earlier measure. As that bill was being debated in parliament, a Times editorial pointed out: "the immigrants already living

here are among the poorest, the most badly housed, the most over-crowded, the least well-schooled and the most harrassed members of our population." They were, by most definitions, severely disadvantaged. Goldman and Taylor observed that:

> the plight of coloured immigrant children is essentially the plight of indigenous socially disadvantaged children in slum and problem areas, but with the added dimensions of language difficulties and colour prejudice to overcome. This cannot be separated from questions of housing, health, facilities for pre-school and after-school activities, youth employment, and many other factors. (Goldman and Taylor, 1965, p. 177)

The main lines of activity on redevelopment of disadvantaged youth in the United Kingdom have been aimed at implementation of the so-called Plowden Report, Children and Their Primary Schools (1967), which recommended "that positive discrimination be observed in areas which have large numbers of disadvantaged children and youth (Educational Priority Areas or EPA's), at curriculum development for such students through the Schools Council", and at providing more appropriately for children of immigrants.

The Plowden Report recommended eight criteria to be used by local education authorities in identifying children in districts where "educational handicaps are reinforced by social handicaps." These included:

1. Social class composition-- proportion of unskilled and semi-skilled workers.
2. Size of families-- the larger the family, the more likely are the children to be in poverty.
3. Supplements in cash or kind from the State-- number of children provided free school meals and families on National Assistance.
4. Overcrowding and sharing of houses-- number of families in cramped accommodations in run-down areas.
5. Poor attendance and truancy-- perceived as affecting school progress and as related to delinquency.

6. Proportion of retarded, disturbed, or handicapped pupils in regular or ordinary schools.

7. Incomplete families-- one or the other parent is dead or not living at home or unable to provide satisfactory upbringing for children without special help.

8. Children unable to speak English. (Plowden Report, 1967, pp. 57-59)

To these eight criteria, three more were later added: (1) poor or inadequate housing, (2) high pupil turnover, and (3) high teacher turnover. Local education authorities were asked to rank schools with those at the bottom being entitled to "priority treatment." Once designated as EPA schools, the Committee argued that the gap between the educational opportunities of the most and the least fortunate children should be closed, for economic and social reasons alike. "It cannot be done, unless extra effort, extra skill, and extra resources are devoted to the task." (ibid., p. 65) The report urged a start be made giving priority to the most severely deprived pupils-- 2 percent of the pupils at first and growing to 10 percent over five years. The measures proposed the following steps for EPA's:

1. Ratio of teachers to children be improved with no class larger than 30.
2. EPA teachers be paid an additional salary of 120 pounds.
3. School aides be provided at a ratio of one to every two infant and junior classes.
4. Priority should be given to the replacement or improvement of old or out-of-date buildings. Approximately 5,000 pounds should be allocated to each school for immediate minor works.
5. Extra books and equipment should be provided.
6. Nursery education should be expanded.
7. Colleges of education should establish training links with priority schools.
8. Teachers' centers should be established for in-service training.
9. Social work should be developed in conjunction with EPA schools.
10. Community schools should be tried out first in EPA schools.
11. Research should be designed to determine which developments have the most constructive effectiveness "so as to assist in planning the longer term programme to follow." (Ibid., pp. 66-67)

Needless to say, the Government did not attempt to implement all of the suggestions, especially where additional funding was called for. An Urban Aid Program was initiated in 1968 involving several government departments-- education, health, and social security. In each of its first four phases, between 2 and 3 million pounds were made available largely for capital projects such as nursery classes, language teaching centers for immigrants, day nurseries, and children's homes, with some support for operating costs. The fifth and last phase of the Urban Aid Program was devoted to non-capital projects such as work by voluntary agencies, playground organizations, summer camps and courses. (Smith, 1971)

The Social Sciences Research Council and the Department of Education and Science funded an "Educational Priority Area Action Research Program" under the direction of Halsey. The project involved the development and evaluation of EPA programs in five Local Education Authority areas in England and Scotland. Each area developed its own EPA programs and all were assessed. Halsey's main policy conclusions based on the five EPA studies were as follows:

1. The educational priority area, despite its difficulties of definition, is a socially and administratively viable unit through which to apply the principle of positive discrimination.

2. Pre-schooling is the outstandingly economical and effective device in the general approach to raising educational standards in the EPAs.

3. The idea of the community school, as put forward in skeletal outline by Plowden, has now been shown to have greater substance and powerful implications for community regeneration.

4. There are practical ways of improving the partnership between families and schools in EPAs.

5. There are practical ways of improving the quality of teaching in EPA schools. (Halsey, 1972, p. 180)

The Schools Council undertook a project on English for Children of Immigrants (1967) and prepared materials for teachers and teaching materials designed for children of Asian and Cypriot immigrants and for West Indian children.

Last year, Smith re-examined the educational priority area idea after EPA's had been designated and programs had operated in them for a number of years. Smith began with a familiar note: a discussion of the rise and fall of education as the agent of social change, the EPA idea having developed at the beginning under what now seemed to have been boom conditions for education. In Smith's view,

> The original EPA policy confused two separate elements-- reaching individual children 'at risk' by designating areas where they may be concentrated, and a true area policy intended for all children in an area defined as disadvantaged, whether they were indiyidually 'at risk' or not. This second approach to EPA would mean a series of related educational developments designed for the particular needs and conditions of specific areas, not a uniform blanket policy. By operating at the small area level, it should be possible to tie educational developments more closely to other changes taking place, and tap into the informal educational resources available in any area. Releasing new resources in this way should be a strong argument for additional funding. (Smith, 1977, p. 280)

Reflecting on the outcomes of a number of EPA experimental education projects, Smith observed that if there was one lesson to be learned, "it is that single developments are not effective on their own; they have to be reinforced by complementary programmes. Instead of a single policy applied across the board, an area approach recognises the importance of concentrating in a single area and the need to lay down a matrix of related programmes." (ibid.)

In September 1977, the Center for Information and Advice on Educational Disadvantage sponsored a major conference on the theme:

"Are Educational Priority Areas Still Worthwhile?" (CIAED, 1977) Several LEA's described their programs and expressed their feelings-- pro and con-- concerning the value of discriminating in favor of priority areas. Unfortunately, the report notes: "The amount of time for discussion was very limited, so the conference in itself did not formulate general conclusions."

The most comprehensive program reported was that of Coventry which used a number of criteria in identifying the areas of disadvantage but found the incidence of free school meals the single most indicative criterion. Having pinpointed the EPA's, Coventry took the following actions:

1. Positive discrimination in staffing.
2. Provided nursery education, more than doubling the numbers admitted.
3. Community education projects, linking schools to the Community Development Project team.
4. Community primary school and community colleges-- i.e., secondary schools inside a large community center.
5. A school in outer fringes of the urban area used by inner city children as part of an enrichment program.
6. A large Teachers' Center and Curriculum Development Center established as vital part of strategy of supporting teachers.
7. An Advisory Service of 19 specialists for 185 schools.
8. A minority group support service consisting of a team of 2 leaders, 13 Teachers of English as a Second Language, 6 language specialists, 2 welfare officers ( an Asian and a West Indian), a clerk, and a typist.
9. An Industrial Language Unit working with adults in the development of communication between immigrant workers and their employers.
10. An adult literacy scheme.

Coventry's director of education affirmed "that combatting disadvantage was a corporate responsibility, demanding a comprehensive and multi-faceted strategy." (ibid., p. 8)

In his Goldsmiths' College Inaugural Lecture, Little examined educational policies for multi-racial areas, observing that

while it is estimated that 90% of the migrant workers in the European Economic Community (EEC) area came from within the community or the Mediterranean region, more than half of the post-war migration to Britain came from the Asian subcontinent or the West Indies, i.e., were black British subjects. Therefore, Little pointed out, "the context in Britain for the political response to migration was the objective fact and subjective reaction to coloured citizens, and that is why 'immigrant' means 'black' in common parlance." (Little, 1978, p. 5)

In Little's view, educational policies for achieving justice between educational groups should take into account eight basic factors: (1) concentration and the uneven distribution of multi-ethnic communities; (2) newness to the country and the fact of cultural and language difficulties; (3) varied sorts of educational needs as a consequence of different migrant groups; (4) social disadvantage stemming from the concentration of minorities in areas of urban decay; (5) the probability of backlash and fears of non-immigrant parents; (6) the demands of minority groups; (7) underfunctioning or poor performance of minority children in schools and, (8) the fact of racial hostility and discrimination. (ibid., pp. 10-19)

Little proposes that educational policies for multi-racial areas should have three main elements:

1. The Department of Education and Science create a special fund for assisting local education authorities and local communities to meet the educational needs of multi-racial communities and establish an expert unit in the department to assist in the design and evaluation of local authority programmes.

2. Joint ventures between the department, local education authorities and higher educational institutions should be designated as multi-racial priority projects for development and action in this field.

3. Projects for multi-racial education should, in addition to extra conventional educational resources emphasize:

   (a) Programmes to assist the early development of white and black children in multi-racial areas;
   (b) Programmes to increase parental and community involvement in child development and the schools;
   (c) Programmes of curriculum development relevant to multi-racial education in schools of further education. (ibid., p. 33)

## Education of the Disadvantaged: the Israeli Experience

Since several papers deal with the Israeli experience with redevelopment of the disadvantaged, that experience will be dealt with only briefly here. The so-called "Van Leer Study" published in June 1977 represented a comprehensive evaluation of Israel's elementary schools. As pointed out in the introduction: "The need for systematic evaluation was clearly felt in the Israeli educational system as the problem of disadvantaged pupils grew in scope and intensity." (Minkovich, et al. 1977, p. 5) In Chapter 1, "The Problem and Its Background," there is a discussion of educational disadvantage as the problem emerged with the mass immigration from Asian and African countries after the founding of the state in 1948. The final section of the final chapter of the report discusses the problem of the disadvantaged pupil, discusses the study's findings and presents conclusions which bear on the issues raised. The report concludes with a brief review of the results of twenty years of compensatory activities in Israel. Minkovich, Davis and Bashi propose a two-dimensional definition of the problem of the disadvantaged, recommending that a distinction be made between the socio-political and the

educational-learning aspects of the problem. In some ways, the proposal resembles the American discussion regarding the basis for allocation of Title I ESEA funds on the basis of student achievement rather than poverty level. Minkovich et al.assert that:

> the results of our study permit us to conclude that there is a tendency toward the reduction of cultural gaps in achievement on the elementary school level. The school has made a certain contribution to this process, but for the most part it has occurred as a result of social mobility and acculturation among AA [Asian African] families and the culture contact stemming from cultural intermarriages. (ibid., pp. 420-421)
>
> The school has made a certain contribution to the process of advancement of disadvantaged pupils. In our opinion, however, this contribution is probably less than what the educational system is potentially capable of accomplishing, and certainly insufficient in light of the needs and expectations of Israeli society. (ibid., p. 421)

In any consideration of the disadvantaged in Israel, the work of Feuerstein and his associates at the Haddassah-Wizo-Canada Research Institute looms large. The Learning Potential Assessment Device (LPAD) and the Instrumental Enrichment Program (IE) are both directly related to the redevelopment of disadvantaged youth. The development, testing, and implementation of both the LPAD and the IE over a period of years have provided considerable data on the potential of these two programs for cognitive modificability of retarded performers. (Feuerstein, et al., 1978a and 1978b)

Passow (1971) reviewed compensatory education programs in Israel, many of which were under the Ministry's Center for Teunei-Tipuach Institutions. The programs included: (1) Long Day "reinforcement" programs; (2) Long Year Schools; (3) Hach Batzal groups or "sets" in language, mathematics, and English as a second language; Helping Teacher Program; Remedial Teaching Program in Hebrew, reading, writing. and

arithmetic; Ma'Alot out-of-school program for youngsters representing the top quarter of the disadvantaged sixth-graders who receive special tutoring and assistance. Residential secondary school programs for "gifted children" of disadvantaged origins have been in operation for some time. Youth Aliyah's work for the disadvantaged takes place in several different contexts-- youth groups in the kibbutzim; academic, vocational, and agricultural institutions with hostels attached; institutions stressing rehabilitation for those who are physically and mentally healthy but socially disadvantaged; Youth Centers and Youth Villages. Finally, the Israel Defense Forces serve an important educational and acculturation function for the disadvantaged. As Bar-On observed: "The I.D.F. is one of the primary educational factors in the country which serves as a highly important agency for social development and as a melting pot for integration and immigration and absorption." (Passow, 1971, pp. 36-41)

Adler, Kahane, and Avgar reviewed what they call the "manipulations and strategies within the formal education system in Israel" for the disadvantaged. Their descriptions include so-called "manipulations" in early childhood-- including studies by Ortar; in kindergarten-- including studies by Smilansky, Feitelson, and Lombard; in elementary schools-- including studies of the extended day program, grouping or "setting," the activity class, the open classroom, and integrated schooling; in the middle division (junior high school)-- including a study of the "reform" on achievement and integration by Adler, Chen and Levi; in secondary education-- including a project by Frankenstein at the Hebrew University High School, a tutorial program,

a study of the boarding school (pnemia); and in higher education-- including a Pre-Academic Preparatory Program (Mechina). ( Adler et al., 1975, pp. 26-51) Adler and his colleagues also review vocational and technical education and the informal educational organizations (including the boarding school, summer camps, youth movements, Gadna, youth centers, and street work) for their implications for a master plan for research and experimentation in the education of the disadvantaged.

Finally, another aspect of Israel's experience with the redevelopment of disadvantaged youth can be seen in the report of the Prime Minister's Commission for Children and Youth in Distress, at the heart of which "lies a concern for the reduction of social gaps and distress as a central national and social concern." (State of Israel, 1973, p. 1) The work of this committee can be seen from the titles of the ten teams:

1. Assured Income
2. Housing and Community
3. Community and Social Services in a Specific Community (Neve Sharrett)
4. Infant and Primary School Education
5. Secondary, Post-Secondary and Vocational Education
6. Informal Education and Community Work
7. Boarding School System for Youths Living Outside the Family
8. Health and Social Services for the Individual and the Family
9. Voluntary Social Services
10. Examination of Processes of Withdrawal of Youth from Accepted Frameworks and Their Formation into Marginal Groups (ibid., pp.21-27)

The Committee's recommendations were numerous but the numerous events which have occurred since the report was presented to the Prime Minister in 1973 have limited the implementation of many of the proposals.

## In Conclusion

I reviewed the U.S.A. experience in compensatory education for the disadvantaged earlier in some detail, although one can hardly discuss the tremendous variety of research, development, and programmatic efforts except in terms of some patterns or trends. The National Institute of Education's Compensatory Education Study's interim reports proved to be helpful in ascertaining these patterns which seem to be heavily weighted toward early childhood and elementary education, although one can find programs aimed at all ages from infancy through mature adulthood. In the U.S.A., although there is a recognition of the limitations of education to overcome disadvantage and some efforts to relate education to employment, housing, community development, etc., by and large schools still act in isolation for the most part. Nevertheless, it seems fair to say that the crisis in urban education and the concern for the disadvantaged have stimulated a rethinking of the educative process--the goals, the means, the resources, the strategies, the relationships-- and have been responsible for a good deal of educational reform which has and is taking place.

Some general observations seem warranted:

1. The groups considered "disadvantaged" tend to be those of racial or ethnic minority group status, immigrants or in-migrants, and those of low socioeconomic or impoverished status. The comprehensive definition of disadvantaged cited at the beginning of this paper certainly fits most of the populations of concern in the various nations.

2. Program development efforts follow similar patterns. There is considerable interest, for example, in early childhood and pre-school education, language and basic skills development, curriculum modification, remedial activities, involvement of family in schooling, community development, and vocational training and career development.
3. Education of the disadvantaged in many nations is closely related to racial and ethnic discrimination. Program efforts, in some instances, are focused on development of multi-cultural or culturally pluralistic experiences. Desegregation, if not integration, is perceived as contributing to overcoming disadvantage in some countries and several give serious attention to race relations.
4. There are several "theories" concerning the nature of and origins of disadvantage, each of which implicitly, if not explicitly guides intervention approaches and program treatments. It seems unlikely that a theory will emerge although one can hope that better conceptualized theoretical models will provide better guidance for program planners and decision makers.
5. There is a good deal of program evaluation underway in many national settings. These evaluations are of very uneven quality in design, concept, and implementation and are unlikely to contribute much to building theoretical models. Qualitatively, much the same can be said about the state of research in the area of the disadvantaged. Unlike evaluation efforts, there are

good research efforts which, if intelligently synthesized could advance our insights and guide our program development activities, replacing the totally eclectic expedient approaches which presently obtain.

6. Residential programs for disadvantaged youth are not widespread thus far. Youth Aliyah's efforts are quite unique. Why residential approaches are not more widely used may reflect cultural resistances or differences in societal structures. For example, some proposals for residential programs have been resisted by minority groups and viewed as racist and demeaning of their family and community structures. In the U.S.A., the Upward Bound program seems to have been accepted but its residence element is usually at a college or university campus which carries some prestige with it and is for a short six- to eight-week period. Job Corps, on the other hand, is viewed quite differently as a longer term residential program.

7. Social, economic, cultural and educational problems which contribute to individuals and groups being disadvantaged have both similarties and differences in their manifestations in various countries. Poverty, for instance, has differing consequences in different societies, setting aside the different meaning of poverty from one nation to another. Language differences may have greater significance in some cultures than others. The socialization processes of educational systems vary. Minority status has a different meaning. National goals and purposes may result

in differing sets of priorities from one nation to another.

Some time ago, I wrote:

> As research and development efforts are mounted and programs initiated in countries abroad, Americans will do well to open further the lines of communication in both directions in order to fill the knowledge gaps, bolster theory, and better understand the nature and meaning of compensatory programming. In analyzing the programs and research data of other countries and other educational systems, we may come to understand our own better. (Passow, 1971, p. 57)

This is true not only for the U.S.A., of course.

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